BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK • ANNA LOUISE STRONG • NEW YORK, JUNE 1 • SEE P. 11

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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the progressive newsweekly

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Belgrade: The drinks are on the house

Yugoslavia is the mecca and Marshal Tito is all smiles. The Russians are coming, then India's Nehru, and lots more. The word is "neutralism" and it's scaring the striped pants off diplomatic Washington, which is now attempting to prove—with poor success—that neutralism really means war. All Europe and Asia are watching, and we too offer a toast: "Long life!"

EDITOR'S DEPORTATION CASE

Belfrage denied bail, he appeals; protests to Brownell urged

By Lawrence Emery

CEDRIC BELFRAGE, GUARDIAN editor, was still in prison last week as his lawyers battled in the courts first to win his release on bail and second to invalidate the deportation order against him on the grounds that the government not only failed to prove its charge but denied him due process of law.

On Tues., May 24, Appeals Court Judge Harold Medina—who presided at the first of the current Smith Act trials in 1949—declined to order bail himself but ruled that a full three-man panel of the Court shall consider the appeal from Judge Dawson's denial of bail at its next sitting on June 6.

Jail conditions which caused Belfrage to stage a two-day hunger strike were somewhat relaxed last week, but he was still in "security custody" in the Federal House of Detention on West St. in New York and could move about only when escorted by a guard. He was out of a cell and assigned to do light clerical work in the hospital ward, where he sleeps and takes his meals.

WRITE TO BROWNELL: He is allowed only three visitors a week, on Saturday, for a total of a half-hour. His incoming mail is restricted and can be received only from persons he designates on a prison "authorized list." Letters and communications from persons not on the list are turned over to his lawyers; Belfrage will eventually receive them all.

As the two-pronged court moves went ahead, GUARDIAN readers were urged to write to Atty. Gen. Brownell who on his own order can set bail or quash the proceedings against Belfrage.

In a habeas corpus proceeding argued on May 18 before Federal District Court Judge Archie O. Dawson Belfrage's request for bail was denied because he invoked the Fifth Amendment against several questions asked him by government attorney Harold Raby. Said the Judge:

> "A man may hold unpopular beliefs—that is not contrary to American principles—but a man who is making an application for bail and refuses to answer questions on grounds that it might tend to incriminate him, is something that must be taken into serious consideration."

ON DRAWING INFERENCE: That rul-

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WAR & PEACE

People of Europe drawn to appeal of 'neutralism'

By Kumar Goshal

SEVERAL EVENTS and proposals of the Spring of 1955 are having profound repercussions in Europe, Asia and the U.S. Among the most important are

- The successful conclusion of the Austrian peace treaty.
- The Afro-Asian Conference at Bandoeng.
- The concrete Soviet disarmament proposals.
- The visit of the top Russian leaders to Yugoslavia.
- The agreement in principle to hold a top-level Big Four meeting.

In still another response to popular pressure in Britain—on the eve of the May 26 elections—Tory Prime Minister Eden not only has agreed to a four-power meeting "at the summit" but has expressed a readiness "for another [meeting] later on at the highest level if that is thought necessary" (**N.Y Times**, 5/22). By this maneuver the Tories have once again stolen the show from the Labor leadership, whose campaign has been something less than stirring. Only Aneurin Bevan, who "has campaigned with a forceful brilliance," has boldly asked (**NYT**, 5/22):

"If the Russians propose that they are prepared for the unification of

(Continued on Page 3)

THE INDIANAPOLIS STAR

DAWN OF WORLD PEACE SEEN

U.S. Ready To Rearm West Germany

DOWN, DAWN!

AN EDITORIAL STATEMENT

You can help free Belfrage

THE EDITOR OF THIS NEWSPAPER, Cedric Belfrage, has now been held for two weeks in a federal jail.

He has committed no crime, nor is he charged with one.

Senator McCarthy ordered his deportation two years ago, when Belfrage defied McCarthy's efforts to witchhunt the GUARDIAN, its editors, readers and supporters and its editorial point of view. At that time Belfrage was seized and held at Ellis Island for a month, until a federal judge ordered him admitted to bail. Thereafter, two Immigration Dept. informers provided the lying testimony necessary for a deportation order and finally a denial of appeal.

THIS NEWSPAPER is now challenging the validity of the deportation order in the federal courts. This procedure could take a year or more. By all standards of American justice, Belfrage should be free while this legal challenge runs its course.

Instead, Belfrage is the only political deportation detainee in the nation today who is being held in a federal jail and, indeed, the only one to whom bail is denied.

That this is special persecution can hardly be denied.

That it is "cruel and unusual punishment" under the Constitution is obvious. That it is personal harrassment for the editor of a disturbing (and apparently feared!) publication is a fact stated perfectly frankly by Edward J. Shaughnessy, director of the Immigration District in which he is held. Shaughnessy told the GUARDIAN that Belfrage was being held in prison because he is "actively engaged in advocating policies which we think involve national security."

Belfrage has been "actively engaged" in only one pursuit for the last seven years—editing NATIONAL GUARDIAN, the progressive newsweekly. This has meant fighting McCarthy, Mc-

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Vol. 7, No. 32 178 MAY 30, 1955

"Such is the irresistible nature of truth, that all it asks, and all it wants, is the liberty of appearing."
—*THOMAS PAINE.*

Help to free Belfrage

(Continued from Page 1)

Carran, Jenner and all their ilk; opposing the Korean War; ripping aside the government's heartless blackout curtain on the fate of prisoners of war in Korea; fighting for the lives of the Rosenbergs; and, perhaps most significantly, battling the Immigration Dept. for harboring the informer system and wrecking American lives under the guise of enforcing the repressive Walter-McCarran Law.

THERE ARE NO TWO WAYS ABOUT IT: This whole trumped up deportation case against a man who has lived peacefully and constructively in our country since 1926 is an attack on freedom of the press—YOUR press, if you please—and it calls for a counter-attack by YOU, NOW.

We urge you to pause in whatever you are now doing and write a quick note to Attorney General Herbert Brownell, demanding bail for Cedric Belfrage. If you need further arguments, see what I. F. Stone has to say about the case in his **Weekly** this week (p. 4).

Brownell could not only order Belfrage admitted to bail, he could quash the entire proceeding. This, however, he could have done any time in the past two years; in fact he could have refused to initiate the Belfrage frame-up at the demand of McCarthy. The very least you might demand of him now is freedom for Belfrage while we conduct the legal fight to win his right to U.S. citizenship and to edit the GUARDIAN.

THIS LEGAL FIGHT is now being waged on several fronts—for immediate bail, for review of the deportation order by the federal courts, for continuing bail for the duration of the court review.

Every step costs dollars—hundreds now, thousands later. Take it from the bookkeeper: this is not the sort of action that can be paid for by skimping on the weekly budget. It requires a new and steady flow of funds, to publish without interruption and to carry on the kind of legal fight this case warrants and deserves.

We have of course had hundreds of letters in the last few days, all encouraging the fight-back, all chipping in heartily, whether with large sums or small. The following two are excerpted because of the wide range of support they indicate. One, from an Old Hand Supporter in the great Midland, says:

"McCarthy may be in eclipse, but McCarthyism and Brownellism are still flourishing as before. Enclosed $25 for your fight for freedom as a normal American interprets freedom."

And from a student couple in Chicago:

"Emerging from our general exams, we hasten to respond to your appeals. As we look back over these several years of chronic crisis and defense—political, not military—it comes to us that the GUARDIAN is really a joint venture, a co-operative responsibility to keep the channels of communication open.

"Here is our $5 for our debts and the defense of our editor. We'll watch the signals and if more is needed, more will be forthcoming. Here's luck to all of us!"

The readers write the best editorials of all. Please do YOUR best, as so many others are doing.

THE MAIL BAG

The Belfrage Case

NEW AMSTERDAM, BRITISH GUIANA

Tonight my wife and I heard over the radio the announcement of the failure of Belfrage's appeal against the order to deport him. We are much touched by the news and want to inform him of our concern for his future welfare.

We have been fortunate to receive from a friend in Chicago copies of the GUARDIAN and have read much about his case and the deportation of his family. We have also read Seeds of Destruction and feel that the world owes him an immense debt of gratitude for the disclosures contained therein. We realize, however, that it is precisely the same things that have led to his persecution. His uncompromising stand against war, for peace and freedom of all peoples, is too much for those who profit by the destruction of innocent people.

Here in Guiana the people have felt the iron heel of imperialism against their faces. Several people, including myself, have been restricted to areas irrespective of our ability to receive employment. Many have been imprisoned and to this day two young men are detained now eight months without trial. We realize, however, that your fight and ours is the same struggle.

Brindly H. Benn

•

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Read in the Times this morning about the jailing of Cedric Belfrage Am disgusted and appalled. A faithful reader of your paper, I am many times in absolute disagreement with the stand you take but this is an issue of such import that all people of honesty and decency should raise their protest loudly. Everything possible should be done to reverse this insane injustice.

O. L.

•

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

Very many of us are personal friends of Cedric Belfrage. But he has won the devotion of others—their name is legion—who are GUARDIAN readers. All were shocked and angry about what befell him on the luckless Friday the 13th. The shock has abated—but the anger deepens and is unappeasable.

We can never wholly repay our debt to Cedric Belfrage. But it is a debt of honor to be requited by every means in our power. We know the purpose of this persecution and what we must do. With calculated malice this flank attack is designed to harass our editor's colleagues and to impose on the paper crushing legal expenses to milk us dry and put the GUARDIAN out of business.

NO! This is our answer to the witch-hunters, our message to Cedric Belfrage and our pledge to his beleaguered but not friendless associates. Whether our editor remains with us or is temporarily exiled, the GUARDIAN goes on.

We can put teeth into this challenge with our dollars if every one of us helps to the best of our ability—whether it be cheques, dollar bills or the contents of a piggy bank passed around among friends and neighbors whose interest we have aroused with this lamentable story. To increase the number of pledged readers is most important for the more effective planning of legal moves and relief of the staff from acute financial anxiety.

Muriel I. Symington

How crazy can you get dept.

MADISON, Wis., April 29—(UP)—A bill requiring tavern keepers to sign a loyalty oath is before the Wisconsin Legislature.

Assemblyman Eugene Toepel said he introduced the measure because in many "cloak-and-dagger" fiction stories, subversive elements gather in taverns.

—Seattle (Wash.) Times.

One-year free sub to winner of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: Montague, Seattle, Wash.

That's the pitch

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Here's my stitch
To foil that witch
And give you a hitch
Over that ditch.
May you strike it rich.

Florence Luscomb

Kandiyohi County

WILLMAR, MINN.

I live in Kandiyohi County where the study was made showing that the average farmer makes only 31 cents an hour for his labor. Your article was good except for a typographical mistake. Instead of the size of the average farm in our county being 22 acres, it is 220 acres.

What can farmers do? If working people were asked to work for 31 cents an hour, they would strike across the nation. If business executives were asked to work for 31 cents an hour, they would throw up their hands in horror. But what can farmers do? Right now, we are all sitting around grumbling. At election time, our Farmers Union and Farm Bureau leaders usually hint for us to vote Republican. I think the Farm Bureau is plain reactionary and the Farmers Union is either scared or trying to act respectable.

Harry Jones

British Guiana prisoners

CHICAGO, ILL.

Please urge your readers to write to the Governor of British Guiana, Georgetown, British Guiana. Urge the Governor to release all political prisoners. Send a postal card to Mr. Madray Kuttain (one of the prisoners), at Her Majesty's Penal Settlement, Mazuruni, Essequibo, British Guiana. Cards by regular mail are 4 cents.

Ed Connors

Transcontinental cheer

SEATTLE, WASH.

Scanned the commercial press avidly, trying to find a hint that Einstein was a genius in his social as well as his scientific thinking. Then the GUARDIAN arrives with the newsworthy Einstein view that the prostitute press "missed." Hurrah!

Lyle Mercer

For Holland Roberts

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

San Francisco's California Labor School is famous for its stimulating classes and workshops, cultural programs, great artists and thinkers that it has brought to the people of the West Coast. The school has been an accepted center of progressive life of this area for 14 years. Many GUARDIAN readers know the school and its beloved director, Dr. Holland Roberts.

An Anniversary Celebration Committee has been set up with Dr. Frank W. Weymouth, professor emeritus of Stanford University, as honorary chairman, to honor Dr. Roberts on his 60th birthday and 10th anniversary with the school. The celebration will take place at the Bellevue Hotel, San Francisco, June 4, and we urge friends and organizations to send contributions and greetings not only as a demonstration of support but for the principle of academic freedom in America. Vincent Hallinan will be a speaker.

Anniversary Celebration Comm.
321 Divisadero St., San Francisco

Anti-intellectualism

BERKELEY, CALIF.

As a college student and GUARDIAN subscriber I should like to comment upon what I consider a touch of anti-intellectualism (or at least anti-college studentism) in Michael Gold's article "The Flame in O'Casey" (May 9). In my opinion Mr. Gold mars an otherwise fine eulogy of Mr. O'Casey with his irrelevant jab at "college boys." O'Casey himself was quite bitter about the intellectuals of the twenties in Ireland (see Shadow of a Gunman), and I think his bitterness was justified. But times have changed, and intellectuals in this country are now under constant attack as "eggheads"—an attack coming from sources which are attempting to destroy academic freedom along with other American freedoms.

For this reason I shudder at such jabs from progressives who, in attempting to raise the status of proletarian literature, feel they must at the same time discredit the efforts of "college boys." Mr. Gold should be more specific in his charges. He should cite campus literary magazines and refer to particular works, not run the risk of condemning the products of all college students. Such generalizations, which are not valid, serve only to alienate intellectuals or—what is even worse—add fuel to the fires already kindled by book-burners.

No one can disagree with the idea that in order to praise one thing one need not deprecate another. All persons, workers and intellectuals alike, have a valuable contribution to make to the cultural products of any society.

Joanne Wolffson

Wall Street Journal

"Best one we've ever drawn up. Even the fine print has fine print!"

The Salk patent

BRONX, N. Y.

An Open Letter to Dr. Salk:

Dear Dr. Salk: I am sure you had a legal and moral right to have your life-saving discovery patented. Your moral scruples and inhibitions would have been assuaged by your using the capital accruing (enormous) from the sales of your priceless vaccine for further research, which I understand you made your life's work.

I only hope it is not too late . . . after you have thrown your priceless formula into the laps of "private" enterprise — rapacious pack of growling wolves. The result of it is the ugly spectacle we all witness now.

J. A.

That tired feeling

BRISBANE, CALIF.

In this town people are complaining of an unprecedented feeling of weariness. Speaking to an acquaintance, this writer said the tired feeling was a symptom of atomic poisoning, and ascribed it to the Nevada "tests." (The skies hereabouts have been clouded, and heavy winds have blown.) Said Mr. X, "We have to have these tests, so that if war starts—no matter who starts it—our people will be safe." X, in ordinary matters no fool, has been propagandized until he thinks the object of what has been going on in Nevada, is defense. He is absolutely innocent of any knowledge of the fact that our greatest scientists, including Einstein, have said there is no defense in Atomic War.

We now hear, by radio at least, that the real point of the Nevada blasts has been to demonstrate that explosions that can be measured in kilotons, are cheaper, and more effective than H-bomb ones, since they can be set off at closer distances.

Louise Harding Horr

"The Third R"

NEW YORK, N. Y.

On Sunday, May 1, between 8 and 9 a.m. NBC had scheduled a telecast of the oft-postponed A-bomb test in Nevada. That morning the bomb test was again postponed because of adverse weather conditions, and in its place a substitute program of a religious nature was shown. This is a sustaining feature entitled "The Third R."

The scene shown was a sort of Sunday School class (of four young children) conducted by a Roman Catholic nun. In the classroom were an American flag and a statue of Jesus. After a question and answer period on religious questions, the nun said to the children: "Now let us recite the pledge of allegiance!" At this point, both the nun and the children, with hands placed on their hearts, began (TV camera on Jesus): "I pledge allegiance to Jesus, our Lord (TV camera on flag) and to the flag of the United States of America, one nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

The intent is all too plain: to indoctrinate a new generation of young people in the dogma of a church-dominated state, with a distorted and perverted pledge of allegiance as a long first step in that sinister direction.

Eternal Vigilance

Frank Benesch

BERWYN, ILL.

The enclosed contribution of $21 was collected at a gathering of friends from Cicero-Berwyn following the death of Frank Benesch at the age of 75. His days of active support for the forces of peace and progress now ended, this donation is forwarded in his memory.

Frank Bruchtel

Neutralism appeal

(Continued from Page 1)

Germany on conditions of a neutral and disarmed Germany, are we prepared to accept? I am. Are the Tories?"

ADENAUER WORRIED: "Alarmed" by the increasing talk in Western capitals of a four-power agreement on a united and neutral Germany, W. German Chancellor Adenauer hastily recalled his envoys from Washington, Paris and London. He was reported

"... determined to adopt an inflexible position and will instruct his ambassadors to emphasize this opposition to neutrality as frequently as necessary to the U.S., British and French Governments" (**NYT, 5/20**).

Aware that "Western public opinion may force the U.S., British and French Governments to reverse their policies opposing German neutrality," Adenauer planned "to rush the [W. German] armament bills through Parliament before this summer's Big Four conference on German reunification" (**NYT, 5/21**).

The recent reversal of policy by trade union leaders gave evidence of the conflict within W. Germany and continued U.S. insistence on W. German rearmament. At the Vienna conference of the U.S.-dominated Intl. Confedn. of Free Trade Unions, representatives of the W. German Trade Union Fedn. for the first time supported rearmament after "persuasion by American, French Italian and some British labor leaders in a marathon closed-door session" (**Labor's Daily**, 5/21). However, the trade union-supported W. German Social Democratic Party continued to support a unified Germany attached to no military bloc.

THEY STAY CALM: In France the idea of a neutral Germany did "not seem to arouse alarm" in the mind of Premier Faure, who "welcomed the Soviet visit to Yugoslavia as a means of relaxing tension." N.Y. **Times'** correspondent Harold Callender wrote (5/17):

"Anything suggesting that the W. Germans might not be armed after all finds a popular echo in France [and] neutrality, even when sought by Moscow, does not cause alarm in the French popular mind as it does in Washington. . . ."

The liberal Paris journal **Combat** said that Washington "weeps for the billion dollars lost in Yugoslavia and the billions that will be lost elsewhere" if Europe goes neutral. The Paris **Le Monde** found it "normal and legitimate" for Europeans to try to build a neutral belt between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Callender added:

"Europeans [are] losing their belief in a Soviet danger [and are not being] shocked to learn that the Soviet proposal to remove all bases from foreign soil would impair the U.S. strategic bombing program. [Their] tendency is to hope for peace by negotiation, and perhaps neutral areas, rather than by further organization of military force."

GRONCHI'S ROLE: In Italy, where the per capita income is about $381 a year, and 4,000,000 out of a working force of 20,000,000 are unemployed, the election of Giovanni Gronchi to the Presidency brought new nightmares in Washington. A member of Premier Scelba's Christian Democratic Party, Gronchi was elected with the support of the Socialists and Communists in Parliament. Reputed to be a "neutralist," Gronchi in his inaugural address "surprised Scelba and his Cabinet" by presenting a detailed political program with a left-wing flavor and making a plea for including

"... the working classes and middle classes . . . into places where the political direction of the state is exercised" (**NYT**, 5/15).

Gronchi's election, together with the treaty neutralizing Austria and "the Yugoslav regime's warmer relationship with Moscow" made U.S. military authorities

"... ask whether the U.S. is justified under such conditions in continuing to pour millions into Italy unless Italy is willing to offer some proof of her continued attachment to the West and the Atlantic Alliance, [especially since] the U.S. may wish to station in Italy at least some of its forces now in Austria" (**NYT**, 5[17).

ON THE WAY OUT? Scelba and his Cabinet hastily pledged continued allegiance to the U.S., but N.Y. **Times** correspondent Arnaldo Cortesi predicted (5/13) that "the Cabinet . . . is not likely to last very long." U.S. Ambassador Luce left for Washington for consultation even as Italian Partisans of Peace were reported "holding hundreds of protest meetings" throughout the country against bringing U.S. troops from Austria to be based in Italy (**NYT, 5/22**).

Communist leader Togliatti declared that the danger to Italy lies in the Christian Democratic Party's "plan to establish an alliance with the rightist forces in Parliament—the monarchists and fascists," a possibility even the **Times** editorially conceded (5/20). Togliatti called on

"... all democratic forces to unite to do away with the monopoly of political power by the Christian Democratic party, and doom to failure its leaders' reactionary schemes."

THE PEKING VISIT: A ray of hope appeared in the Far East, where India's Krishna Menon, after long talks with Chinese leaders, made guardedly optimistic statements about a possible China-U.S. conference to relax tension in the Formosa area. The posibility was also foreseen of a high-level conference in San Francisco, where Foreign Minister Molotov, Secy. of State Dulles, Foreign Minister Pinay—as well as Krishna Menon—are expected to be present for the UN's tenth anniversary (June 20-26).

No four-power conference can be fruitful, however, unless—as Walter Lippmann pointed out (5/19)—Dulles stops telling Americans "at best only half the truth" and omits

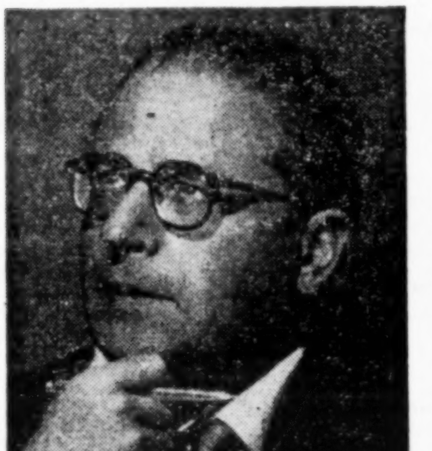
"... the other half [which] is that . . . the Soviets are riding a wave of the future with good prospects . . . of attracting wide popular support in Europe and in Asia."

THE FIFTH World Festival of Youth and Students for Peace and Friendship will meet in Warsaw, Poland, from July 31 to Aug. 14. The host city is building three special Festival Villages on its outskirts to accommodate 30,000 guests expected from every part of the world.

Festival events will include a seminar on "Humanist Traditions and their Influence on Contemporary Literature" at the University of Warsaw; seminars on education and films; tours of the "Chopin country" for music students; and programs of songs and dances from many national groups.

Cultural competitions are open to groups or individual participants under 30 from any part of the world in folk arts, painting, photos and films, music, folk dance, literature and journalism. A special category is for posters on themes of youth, peace, friendship and labor. (Address: 17 Grojecka St., Warsaw, Poland.)

Among the guests at the Intl. Youth Games Sports competition will be Olympics distance winner Emil Zatopek from Czechoslovakia, Mrs. Zatopek, a prize-winning javelin-thrower, and Dave Stephens, record-breaking distance-runner from Australia.



GIOVANNI GRONCHI

Oh, those sleepless nights

As God looks down on the Free World

Many of the 100 priests who took part in the 10-year worker-priest experiment tried so hard to understand French working class mentality that some ended by becoming almost wholly Communist themselves.

Barret McGurn from Paris, N.Y. **Herald Tribune, 4/12.**

It is safe to assume that with a major base building up on the island, the British-directed Cypriot police know pretty well who and where the Communists are. It is also a fact of Cyprus politics that if a legislature were to be elected, it would be Communist-dominated, if not controlled.

Don Cook from Cyprus, same paper, same day.

ON 5TH AMENDMENT

High court throws out Emspak case

THE Supreme Court last week reaffirmed the Fifth Amendment to the Constitution and sought to fasten a leash on Congressional witch-hunters.

The Court stated its views in acquitting two officials of the United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers and a former general manager of the **Daily Worker** of contempt of Congress charges. In an assault by the House Committee on Un-American Activities against the UE in 1949 (the offensive still continues; see page 9) the union's secy.-treas. Julius Emspak, its Pittsburgh organizer Thomas Quinn and five other UE leaders cited the Fifth in resisting the committee's probe.

Five of them were acquitted in the District Court. Emspak and Quinn were convicted and sentenced to six months in jail and a $500 fine. The **Daily Worker**'s Phil Bart took a similar stand before the Committee and was also convicted.

NO RULING ON FIRST: Emspak and Quinn cited the First Amendment as well as the Fifth and it had been hoped that the Court would rule the First also applicable to Congressional hearings. However, the Court ruled that since a decision upholding their claim to the Fifth was sufficient to free the three, there was no need to rule on the First.

Dissents from the majority opinion of the Court came from Justices Reed (all three cases), Harlan and Minton (in Emspak and Bart cases only). Chief Justice Warren wrote the majority opinion in all three decisions. In the Quinn ruling, he said:

"But the power to investigate, broad as it may be, is also subject to recognized limitations. It cannot be used to inquire into private affairs unrelated to a valid legislative purpose, nor does it extend to an area in which Congress is forbidden to legislate. Similarly the power to investigate must not be confused with any of the powers of law enforcement. . . . Still further limitations on the power to investigate are found in the specific individual guarantees of the Bill of Rights, such as the Fifth Amendment privilege. . . ."

.HAT IT MEANS: Tracing the history of the Fifth as "a right hard-earned by our forefathers," the Chief Justice cited earlier Court rulings that it was "a privilege of great value, a protection to the innocent though a shelter to the guilty, and a safeguard against heedless, unfounded or tyrannical prosecution."

Calling for a liberal interpretation of the Fifth, he said:

"To apply the privilege narrowly or begrudgingly—to treat it as an historical relic, at most merely to be tolerated—is to ignore its development and purpose."

In the Emspak ruling Warren wrote:

"The protection of the self-incrimination clause is not limited to admissions that would subject [a witness] to criminal prosecution; for the Court has repeatedly held that 'whether such admissions by themselves would support a conviction under a criminal statute is immaterial' and that the privilege also extends to admissions that may only tend to incriminate."

UNION HAPPY: UE hailed the decision as "an outstanding victory for democratic trade unionism."

The N.Y. **Times** (5/24) reported that "the consensus of lawyers and interested officials was that they (the rulings) would in no way restrict the investigating functions of Congressional committees. But the **Daily News** headed its story: "SUPREME COURT CURBS PROBES, FREES 3 CLAMS."

A CASE OF ATROPHIED CONSCIENCE

How long will our liberal editors remain silent about Belfrage?

Among the few voices of courage in the newspaper world that have consistently been raised in defense of Cedric Belfrage is I. F. Stone's. Stone, who often disagrees with the GUARDIAN's point of view, is a firm believer in the right of dissent. Following is Stone's latest article on the Belfrage Case, reprinted from "I. F. Stone's Weekly," (Rm. 205, 301 E. Capitol St., S. E., $5 a year) of May 23.

WHO WOULD HAVE DREAMT that it would be possible to order an editor deported because of his political views without a single protest from America's few liberal weeklies and dailies?

It is two years since Cedric Belfrage of the NATIONAL GUARDIAN was arrested for deportation the day after he was interrogated by McCarthy. In all that time not a word of protest has come from any other liberal weekly or daily, indeed most of them have yet to mention the arrest. [On May 12] the deportation order was upheld by the Board of Immigration Appeals, again with scant notice. How atrophied has the conscience of American liberal journalism become?

I. F. STONE

Last December, in the wake of the protests from Pearl Buck over the disgraceful treatment of aliens ordered deported, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (see **New York Times** last Dec. 10) rescinded the order which has been sending such aliens to jail ever since Ellis Island was closed. It was announced that in the future deportees would be held under custody in hotels until new special quarters had been established.

But when Belfrage was taken to jail last weekend and went on a hunger strike in protest against the conditions imposed on him, the only paper which carried the news was the Hearst **Journal-American.** Why were the other papers so queasy?

WE HAVE NO DOUBT that if an editor were picked up for deportation, and it turned out that he was a McKinley Republican, that far from being an alien his family had scraped its shins on Plymouth Rock, and that (ha, ha!) he had just finished running a series of editorials calling for preventive war, a hundred bold editors would have sprung to his defense—and one of them would have been awarded the Pulitzer prize.

Unfortunately Belfrage's is not one of those cases of mistaken identity, one of those **reductio ad absurdums,** which can be championed without danger to respectability. Belfrage is a Left-wing editor. Why not look the other way, and write another strong editorial about that fellow in the Air Forces who was branded disloyal because his second cousin by marriage on his mother's side once owned a book on Socialism by Karl Kautsky—although sworn witnesses of the highest repute attested (1) that the book had only been used as a door-stop, (2) that the cousin was illiterate anyway, and (3)—the clincher—that Kautsky in his old age criticized the Bolsheviks? Ah, for those libertarian causes which can be fought shoulder to shoulder with Sidney Hook!

WE CHALLENGE EDITORS to take a look at the Belfrage case. Do they believe a person accused of Communism in a deportation action has a right to demand that the charges against him be proven? Do they believe, after reading the Board of Immigration Appeals decision for themselves, that the case against Belfrage was proven?

We believe that the case against Belfrage is so tenuous that if he gets his full day in court, the deportation order will be reversed. The Board found that he was a Communist "at least from October 1937 to the end of 1938," but not in 1945. The main evidence was a party card issued in that period to a "George Oakden" who is linked by two woozy-minded witnesses and a dubious chain of circumstantial evidence with Belfrage.

The truth, when it comes out, will show that the Immigration and Naturalization Service investigated all this when Belfrage re-entered the country in 1945, and that it would never have been hashed up in a deportation proceeding if McCarthy had not insisted on Belfrage's arrest the day after he appeared before the McCarthy committee.

But what if Belfrage were a Communist? Do we believe in a free press? Is it in accordance with the First Amendment to allow an editor's deportation for his political views? Or are these principles we affirm only in the case of radical aliens and editors safely dead and buried like that foreigner Paine and that trouble-maker Zenger?

Belfrage bail fight

(Continued from Page 1)

ing was promptly appealed to the U. S. Court of Appeals on the ground that Judge Dawson was in error in drawing inference from Belfrage's use of the Fifth Amendment:

"The well-settled law is that no inference can be drawn from a rightful invocation of the privilege against self-incrimination accorded by the Fifth Amendment, whether criminal or civil."

On May 24 the lawyers filed with Judge Dawson papers challenging the deportation order against Belfrage and asking that it be "declared null, void, invalid and of no effect."

"DUE PROCESS" LACKING: The brief argued that "evidence of direct membership in the Communist Party . . . in 1937 and 1938 was not proven by reasonable, substantial and probative evidence" and that "the hearing accorded him [Belfrage] was lacking in due process of law . . . and that the appointment and authorization under which the Special Inquiry Officer sat were in violation of applicable statutes. . . ."

The brief points out that the relation between the Special Inquiry Officer and the Attorney General was that of employe and employer and that the Inquiry Officer, in the circumstances, was under heavy if not irresistable pressure to make a finding as directed by the Attorney General. Because of this the hearing, the brief asserts, "lacked the substance of due process of law, and became the vehicle for the accomplishment of a foreordained end."

Judge Dawson is expected to make his decision on this matter by the end of the week; if it is adverse, it will immediately be taken to the Court of Appeals and a new fight for bail will be made on the basis of that ruling. If the Appeals Court denies bail, application will be made directly to a Justice of the Supreme Court.

BELFRAGE'S CREDO: The appeal against the deportation order, if it goes all the way to the Supreme Court, may consume another year and a half before a final decision is rendered. If bail is persistently denied, it will mean in effect that Belfrage has been sentenced to a prison term of that length of time while waiting for a final ruling.

When he appeared before Judge Dawson, Belfrage took the stand and answered at length questions concerning his activities and his political philosophy since settling in this country as a permanent resident in 1937 in Los Angeles. He said:

"I believe in a democratic society, and I define a democratic society as one in which people have a proper part in government at all levels. There must be the fullest and freest exchange of views. My belief in this kind of society has led me to espouse the cause of people whose views are not being expressed and who are unpopular."

"I AM A SOCIALIST": Declaring that "this country and its Constitution best suited my political philosophy, as does the Declaration of Independence," he added:

"I would say that my position is a more advanced one than that of the New Deal. I believe in a return to the New Deal way. I believe that the movement is toward socialism. I am a socialist."

He described his work from 1937 to 1941 with the Hollywood Anti-Nazi League and his support of the Loyalist cause in the Spanish Civil War. He became an avowed anti-fascist at the time of the accession to power of Hitler in 1933 and his political thinking was shaped and directed from that time on by opposition to fascism. He also told of his work, beginning in 1941, with a British government agency here, and later abroad under the direct supervision of Gen. Eisenhower's Supreme Headquarters. Both he and GUARDIAN co-editor James Aronson were engaged at that time in de-Nazifying the press in occupied Germany.

GUARDIAN'S POLICY: He said he first conceived of a U. S. paper with a New Deal slant in 1947 and considered the time had come when Henry Wallace accepted the Progressive Party nomination for President in 1948. He described the GUARDIAN today as a newsweekly adhering to the principles of the New Deal and fighting for the freest of free speech for everyone and insisted that it "absolutely refuses to countenance" the suppression of civil rights. He pointed out that the paper has defended unpopular causes from the start:

"We have been called names as we expected to be, but we don't regret it."

In international affairs, he said the paper believes in neogtiation and compromise to ensure world peace.

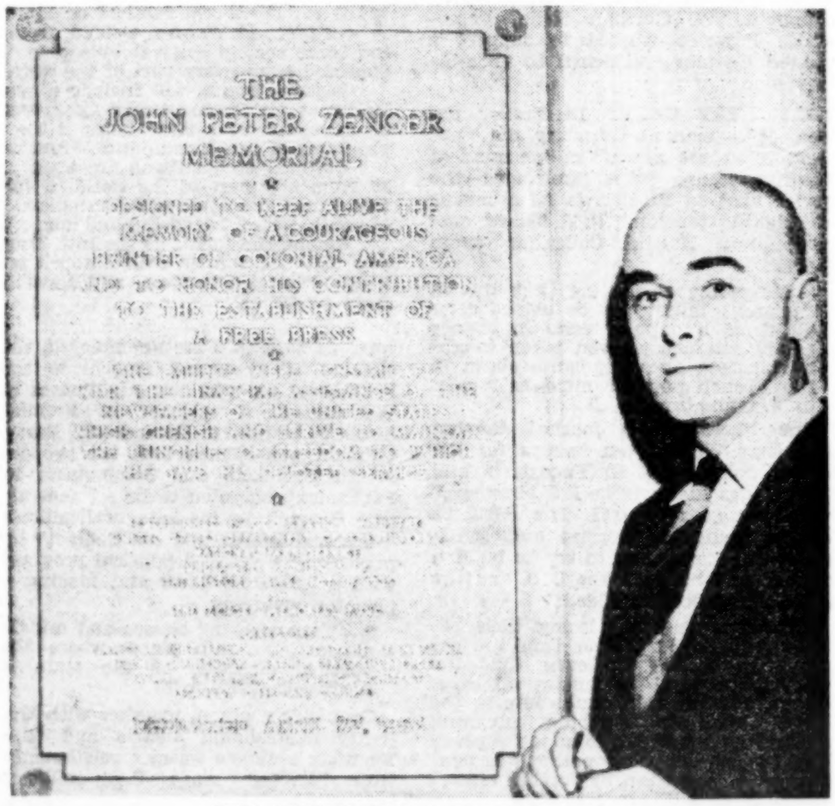
N. Y. Herald Tribune

"Signor, when I filed that application for entrance into the United States I didn't have any children."

Or no planting

Commodity men say it will be hard for Washington to take action that will keep farm commodities from sagging still further. Price support programs are no longer effective in reducing the glut, they say. A drought or other crop disaster might do it, they said.

Business Week 3/26/55



IT'S AN OLD FAMILIAR STORY . . .
The fight for the freedom of the press—but it's even more compelling today. Cedric Belfrage, who knows full well the troubles that beset a dissenter, stands before a memorial plaque in New York to John Peter Zenger, whose fight for the right to dissent in the mid-18th century established the concept of freedom of the press in America.

. . . and 23 others

The Belfrage Case, along with 23 other cases of U. S. newspapermen victimized under the Smith Act and Walter-McCarran Law, was brought to the attention of the Inter-American Press Assn. last week in a published letter from Alan Max, managing editor of the N. Y. **Daily Worker.** The association has been credited with winning freedom for Dr. Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, Nicaraguan editor charged with plotting to overthrow President Anastasio Somoza.

"We maintain that each of these cases is at least as worthy of your intervention as that of Dr. Chamorro," the letter stated.

A SALUTE TO CEDRIC BELFRAGE

'For thousands of Jewish people...'

On May 19 the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born held a meeting in New York to protest hearings next month before the Subversive Activities Control Board designed to force the committee to register as a "Communist-front" organization. The meeting passed a resolution condemning the arrest of Cedric Belfrage. Among the speakers was Simon Federman, a leader of Jewish civic and community organizations. He had this to say of Belfrage:

IF I HAD had no other reason for coming here tonight, I would have been brought here by the intense shock that I received from the latest outrage perpetrated against Cedric Belfrage. I would have had to come here if only to give expression to the deep pain and bitter resentment that I know all decent Americans feel at the brutal treatment to which Belfrage is subjected. If there was one single fact needed to illustrate the full barbarity, inhumanity and senselessness of the present immigration policy of our government, this latest act of the Attorney General would be it.

I don't know Belfrage personally, but for many years now he has been as a dear friend to me. He is the editor of one of the few periodicals in the country that have helped me keep my bearings in these bewildered and tragic times, a paper I rush to consult each week for facts and clarity that make it possible for me to function as a rational American.

I admire Belfrage for the wonderful courage he has shown in meeting the onslaught against him for his stand before the assorted Congressional committees and for the moral force he has shown in the latest ordeal. And so I say to him for myself and thousands of Jewish people whose sentiments I know:

"We love and honor you, Cedric Belfrage. We salute you in this your trying hour. The cause of America, the country you have adopted and so much sacrificed for, is not lost as long as we have such magnificent people as you. We are with you in your adversity. The time is not far off, when a truly free America will hail you as one of her great heroes, whose wisdom and indomitable spirit has helped her return to her true destiny."

Paranoia Day

A great civil defense demonstration will take place across the nation and in your community on June 15. In New York City and in other areas all public movement will stop for 15 minutes at 11 a.m. as the U. S. learns how to behave in the first attack of World War III.

•

Russian civilian defense? It just isn't, so far as can be determined here. In happy commie land there seemingly are:

- No air raid sirens.
- No drills; no demonstrations.
- No public evacuation plans.
- No "in case of war" signs on the highways.
- No shelters.
- No newspaper editorials demanding same.
- No arguments out loud about it anywhere.

Students of Soviet life cannot remember seeing a single reference in Russian newspapers or magazines to civil defense as we understand it.

—Anthony Lewis (Pulitzer Prize winner) Washington Star, May 17.

IN OLD MINNESOTA

China film barred after Duluth attack

An inflammatory attack by Duluth (Minn.) **Herald** columnist Slinto Wessman against the local chapter of the American Committee for Protection of the Foreign Born caused cancellation of a showing of the film **The New China** May 14 at Duluth's Norway Hall. The columnist threatened "pickets out front to count the noses of those who go inside" and personally attacked Edward Hendrickson, hotel manager who booked the hall for the showing, and Knut Heikkinen, veteran editor of the Finnish newspaper **Tyomies-Eteenpain**, facing a ten year jail sentence for not expediting his own deportation under the Walter-McCarran Law.

The manager of Norway Hall canceled the showing May 12, the day after the column appeared, stating that he had been barraged by telephone calls from "indignant" individuals. The editor of the **Herald** refused space to Hendrickson and members of the ACPFB chapter to dispute Wessman's statements.

Belfrage Fight-Back — Hear Anna Louise Strong
True Sisters Clubhouse, 150 W. 85th St., N. Y. June 1

CALENDAR

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ANNA LOUISE STRONG First Chicago Appearance in Six Years. The NATIONAL GUARDIAN invites you to meet, hear and raise questions with this world-famous authority on the Soviet Union and China. Topic: "China, the U. S. and the World Crisis." Fri. eve., June 10, Milda Theatre, 3140 S. Halsted St. Chairman: Pearl S. Hart.

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A little patience . . .

LONG ISLAND CITY, N. Y.
Here are two renewals. They really take time . . . all such cordial people, all insisting "sit down and have a cup of coffee." Sometimes there's a return trip "after my husband gets paid." With a little patience and time I guess I'll be able to reach them all.
Guardian Builder

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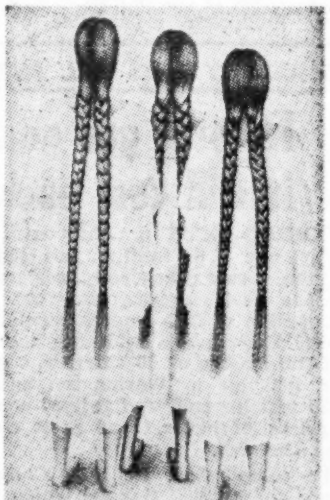

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A "GUILT-BY-ANTICIPATION" BILL

Butler Bill: Blacklist plan for all U. S. industry

SEN. JOHN M. BUTLER (R-Md.), who got elected in a dirty campaign master-minded by Joe McCarthy, now is pressing for enactment of his "Defense Facilities Protection Act" which would set up a universal blacklist of militant workers in all U.S. industry. The Senate passed an identical bill last year, but it died without action in the House. The heat is on again for its passage in this session of Congress.

Opposition to the measure is broad and powerful; in public hearings earlier this month it was denounced by representatives from the Natl. Lawyers Guild, the AFL, the CIO, Americans for Democratic Action, the American Veterans Committee, the United Steelworkers, the United Auto Workers and the CIO electrical workers union.

"WILSON'S CHOICE": The bill defines as a "defense facility"

"... any plant, factory ... or service establishment ... laboratory ... or other establishment or facility ... designated and proclaimed by the Secretary of Defense."

Barred from employment in such "facilities" would be any person

"... as to whom there is reasonable ground to believe they may engage in sabotage of the industrial economy and productive capabilities of the U.S., espionage or other subversive acts."

Herblock in Washington Post
"THE KNOCK AT THE DOOR"

Osmond K. Fraenkel, chairman of the Lawyers Guild's Natl. Committee on Constitutional Rights and Liberties, tagged the measure "a Guilt by Anticipation bill" and said "the individual is to be punished not for what he has done but for what someone thinks he may be inclined to do." He continued:

"This bill is dangerous in principle. The courts have long held that the right to work in a lawful occupation is a valuable legal right entitled to the full protection of the Constitution. To deprive a worker of that right because of his membership in a lawful organization or because some government authority holds that there is 'reasonable ground' to believe that he might violate a law even though he has as yet violated none, is contrary to the most elementary principles of our democracy."

ENOUGH & TOO MUCH: Spokesmen for the AFL and CIO both cited the Smith Act of 1940, the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Communist Control Act of 1954 and asked: "Aren't these enough—if not already too much?"

Walter J. Mason, a member of the AFL's legislative committee, said passage of the bill would be

"... a long step toward requiring that every worker carry a police card attesting to his loyalty in order to get work."

Thomas E. Harris, assistant general counsel of the CIO, said:

"It would confer upon the government a degree of control over private employment which this country has never found necessary even in the darkest days of war."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., who is both counsel for the UAW and national chairman of ADA, said the measure would create a "nation of stoolpigeons."

THE BIGGEST THREAT: But while witnesses were strenuously protesting the Butler bill, it was left for **I. F. Stone's Weekly** to point out that a far worse threat to the working population existed in the possibility that the Supreme Court would uphold the registration order issued against the Communist Party by the Subversive Activities Control Board. If the court approves the order, he pointed out, then Section 5 of the Internal Security Act goes into effect automatically. That section makes it a crime for a Commnist "to engage in any employment in any defense facility" and such facilities are designated as

"... any plant, factory or other manufacturing, producing or service establishment, airport, airport facility, vessel, pier, waterfront facility, mine, railroad, public utility, laboratory, station, or other establishment."

Under the Butler bill, restrictions on employment would go into effect only upon a Presidential proclamation that the "security of the U.S. is endangered...." If the SACB order is upheld, the restrictions become effective at once. And the definition of a "Communist" in the SACB proceeding is so broad and loose that anybody who ever signed a petition for a children's day-care center would be included.

MONOPOLY HAS ALL BURNERS OPEN

Natural gas gouge is in the works: It will cost each family $20 up a year

COOKING WITH gas may cost the average U.S. family from $20 to $30 more a year unless consumer groups put the heat on Congress. That was the opinion of CIO leaders, officials of several Eastern and Midwestern states and the mayors of 50 cities, who have been lobbying in Washington against a bill which would end federal control of prices of natural gas as it comes from the well.

It's complicated. In 1938, Congress passed the Natural Gas Act which permitted the Federal Power Commission to control gas prices in interstate transmission by regulating the companies which pipe it across the country to consumers. The Act did not control the price the pipelines paid to gas producers at the well. The big gas producing companies got around control by "escalator clauses" which, with FPC's approval, provided that if one well-owner raised the price for one pipeline, all the well-owners in the area could raise their prices.

FIGHT COURT RULING: In June, 1954, in a decision on the Phillips Petroleum Co., the Supreme Court ruled that if the Natural Gas Act was to have any meaning, FPC had to control prices at the well. With a $1.5 million campaign fund, gas companies are trying to get Congress to pass an amendment to the Natural Gas Act voiding the Supreme Court's decision.

Ending price control at the wells would result in "unbearable and unwarranted" price rises for consumers, N.Y.'s Mayor Robert F. Wagner warned in House Commerce Committee hearings. Joseph Childs of the United Rubber Workers, speaking for the CIO, predicted the national gas bill would increase by $800 million a year. This would average $32 a year for each of the 25 million consumers in every state except Vermont and three in the Pacific Northwest. President Eisenhower saw a $200-400 price rise.

WHAT'S A MONOPOLY: The committee of mayors called the gas industry "monopolistic in character." Companies deny it, but seven companies account for one-third of all gas produced, and 100 companies for 85%. Two companies, Phillips Petroleum and Humble Oil, a Standard subsidiary, own one-sixth of the present gas reserve, according to former FPC director Leland Olds, now with the Public Affairs Institute's Energy Research Associates (312 Pennsylvania Av., S.E., Washington 2, D.C.) which has published background for gas consumers.

Gas producers are trying to convince the public they should be happy to pay more for their gas because money is needed to prospect for new sources, but neglect to mention that natural gas, as a bi-product of the oil business, is almost pure profit. Not many years ago, before natural gas was used extensively for heating and cooking, the skies of the Southwest were lit up with giant flames as the companies burned it as it came from the well. Now it supplies one-fourth of the fuel in homes.

THE BIG SPREAD: Last year these were prices for N.Y. consumers for 1,000 cu. ft. of natural gas: the pipeline company paid 8c at the well (this average price has gone up from 6.5c to 10c since 1950); charged local distributor Consolidated Edison 31c, while the consumer family paid $2.42. The difference between the price at the well and to the distributor is about 90% profit, economist Victor Perlo figures, but pipeline companies are not likely to favor cutting into it to avoid passing price-rises on to consumers. Consolidated Edison is on record against well price hikes.

Since World War II consumers through their monthly gas bills have paid $10 billion for new or reconversion equipment for burning natural gas. Home-owners have put up about $1,000 apiece for gas-heating facilities. Spokesmen for consumers point out that they can't take their business elsewhere; natural gas has become a public utility and as such should be controlled.

In 1950 when a Democratic Congress passed the Kerr bill removing well-head price control, Mr. Truman vetoed it, but observers fear Pres. Eisenhower may not do so. His Cabinet Commission on Fuels Policy and the FPC recommend no well-head controls. Congressmen from gas states (Ark., Tex., La. and Okla.) have hinted a filibuster if they can't get the anti-control bill by Rep. Oren Harris (D-Ark.) passed.

Herblock in Washington Post
"Don't peek—it's sort of a surprise."

No. Calif. Guardian Banquet a rip-roaring success

WHAT EVERYBODY AGREED was "the high point of anything that's been done around here for years!" was the Northern California GUARDIAN Banquet on Friday the 13th at Merchandise Mart in San Francisco. More than 400 turned out to hear Vincent Hallinan, Les Pine, radio commentator Sidney Roger and others in an evening of good talk, good food, good fun, good feeling and high generosity.

Malvina Reynolds, the GUARDIAN's Northern California representative who planned the affair, had this to say in her report:

"The spirit was indescribable! Everybody was just going around grinning and beaming.

"There were many people involved, in one way or another, in the work; and every one of them had a feeling it was his or her personal success—everybody who sold a ticket (Ray sold 26), took a phone list, came to a meeting of the committee, the woman whose garden produced the flowers and the woman who arranged them (I wish we had a picture of the place!), the people who handled the spots and the sound, who addressed envelopes, the ushers, and the girl who drew the GUARDIAN Angels they wore, and poor old Bud [Mr. Reynolds], who handled the headache of the accounts, and poor old me who came out of it with a feeling of floating on air with the worst migraine I've had in months, but who cares?"

MALVINA REYNOLDS
She swore back on again

A recorded message from Cedric Belfrage was received with mingled pleasure and concern over his deportation arrest the morning of the banquet. The banqueters unanimously adopted a resolution calling for his release and termination of the deportation proceedings against him.

By Sunday Malvina Reynolds' migraine had turned into "a dinger of a cold" but she added this note: "The total sum and effect is that we'll probably have to do it again next year. Seems I swore off some time, but that was Thursday."

WILL THEY PROVE A BOOMERANG?

Unions fight state laws to ban them from politics

WISCONSIN has become the latest state in the nation to adopt a law prohibiting trade unions from spending funds "directly or indirectly" in political campaigns. Now a move is on in other states to enact similar measures. Jack Kroll, director of the CIO Political Action Committee, says such bills

". . . are an attempt by the enemies of labor to tie our other hand behind our back. They got 'right-to-work' bills in 18 states. Now they want to prevent us from fighting back by undermining the individuals' right to self-government. These are clear acts of reprisal for the effective work of labor in the 1954 elections."

Andrew J. Biemiller, the AFL's legislative representative, warns that such bills "could wreck the whole of labor's political program."

The Machinist (AFL)

ONE OF JOE'S BOYS: The Wisconsin measure was introduced by Mark Catlin Jr. (R), Speaker of the State Assembly, who hails from Joe McCarthy's home town of Appleton. He is expected to run for the U.S. Senate in next year's primaries against Sen. Alexander Wiley, who is in disfavor with the state's McCarthyites.

In the campaign against the bill, all of Wisconsin labor—AFL, CIO and the independent railroad unions—worked together through a joint committee and at one point mustered 600 delegates from all parts of the state to a protest demonstration at the state capital. But the measure was passed by 54 to 35 in the Assembly and breezed through the Senate, which is controlled by Republicans. Democrats waged a valiant battle, including a 24-hour filibuster—longest in the state's history—but were hopelessly outnumbered.

The law provides fines ranging from $100 to $5,000 and prison terms from one to five years for parties or candidates accepting political contributions from unions.

FARMERS JOIN FIGHT: The fight against the bill not only united all of Wisconsin labor but brought a large section of the state's farmers to labor's side. The State Board of the Wisconsin Farmers Union unanimously adopted a resolution denouncing the bill and upholding the right of unions to political activity. Said the Milwaukee **Labor Press:**

"And so the Catlin bill is now a law, awaiting only the technicality of Gov. Kohler's signature. Much has been written about this brazen steam-rolled measure which was designed to remove several hundred thousand Wisconsin citizens from effective political action so that a tightly-controlled minority of big business interests could run the state as it pleases. This much is certain. Nothing could have been devised by the Catlinites which will more quickly make the merger of the AFL and CIO an aroused and united force. The Catlin bill may well become the biggest boomerang which big business has yet employed to crush unions."

WHAT LAW SAYS: The CIO in the state has announced it will defy the law and instead of disbanding its PAC groups will intensify their activities.

The language of the law specifies that no union or labor organization "shall contribute any money or thing of value, directly or indirectly, to any political party, political organization, political committe or individual candidate for any political purpose whatsoever or to promote or defeat the candidacy of any person for nomination or election to any political office."

In two other states, Indiana and Ohio, a move is on to enact similar measures. The Indiana legislature has adjourned for the year, but labor there is on the alert for a possible special session to consider a bill that would invalidate union shop agreements if a union contributed

". . . money, property, service or other benefits to, or support or oppose in any manner any political organization or activity."

THERE WERE SMILES: The Ohio bill was introduced by Republican Elton Kile of Plain City and bears the title: "To Assure the Political Freedom of Employes." Said the **AFL Cleveland Citizen:**

"Kile testified during a hearing . . . that his bill would prohibit unions and union members from contributing to a political party or a political candidate. He said it 'would put labor in the same category as employers' who are prohibited from making such contributions. Kile's statement brought smiles to the faces of those at the hearing because everyone knows that corporations spend millions of dollars a year for political purposes. And while Kile claimed that his bill was for the protection of employes, not one employe appeared on behalf of his bill."

The Kile bill failed of approval by one vote in its first test in the Ohio House Elections Committee; two Republicans voted against it.

A LITTLE BRAIN-WASHING: The Akron **Summit County Labor News** reports what happened next:

"Then the heat was really turned on! For two hours the following night, the GOP leadership 'worked' on [Elton] Lahr to change his stand. When Lahr emerged from the 'brain washing' in the House Speaker's office, he was a beaten man. It was obvious that he had broken under the pressure."

The bill thereafter was reported out favorably. The Akron labor paper also knew where to put the blame:

"The Chamber [of Commerce] set the stage, dressed up the actors, pulled the curtain back and prompted the performers—and it's officials didn't even have to say a public word! It was a revolting performance!"

A similar measure has been pushed through a Michigan Senate committee and other "revolting performances" are in the making in other states under the over-all direction of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

•

Bring articles like this into the home of more people. Only $3 for 52 fact-filled issues. Sign up a friend today.

At a Mother's Day prayer meeting on the steps of the Capitol in Atlanta, Ga., 75 Negro and white Georgians, and delegations from New York, St. Louis and Chicago, prayed for the freedom of a Negro mother, Mrs. Rosa Lee Ingram, and her two sons, now 20 and 22. All three were sentenced seven years ago to life imprisonment after Mrs. Ingram defended herself from an attack in her home by a white man. Although members of the KKK circulated leaflets near the prayer meeting, its participants returned next day to plead for Mrs. Ingram's immediate release before the State Pardon and Parole Board. Leading the meeting above are Mrs. Octavine Kyles Reid, president of the Georgia Ingram Club, Rev. W. M. Jackson, Rev. J. N. Hollis and Bishop James J. Hinsley, all of Atlanta.

Mary McLeod Bethune

DR. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, 79, died of a heart attack May 18 at her Daytona Beach, Fla., home. The daughter of North Carolina slaves who became sharecroppers, she was "esteemed as the First Lady of her race" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune,** 5/19), knew five Presidents, and was a warm personal friend of the late Franklin D. Roosevelt and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Spurred by the sting of a white child's taunt "You can't read!" when she was a nine-year-old cotton picker, Dr. Bethune carried on a lifelong fight for education for her people, particularly young Negro women. In 1904 she founded a women's college in Daytona which later was merged with a men's school to become the present 1,000-student Bethune-Cookman Institute. Interracial Sunday afternoon meetings at the school were the first such gatherings in the state. During the 1920's, after hooded Klansmen had circled her school for several nights warning Negroes not to vote, she headed a large group of Negro citizens who were waiting when the polls opened. Later she recalled: "They kept us waiting all day, but we voted."

Under Mr. Roosevelt she held the highest government post achieved by a Negro woman at that time as director of the Negro division of the Natl. Youth Administration, which helped 40,000 young Negroes attend high school and college. On the eve of World War II, with the late Walter White and A. Philip Randolph, a Bethune-Cookman graduate, Dr. Bethune led the "March on Washington," which resulted in Mr. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802 prohibiting job discrimination and led to the FEPC.

A founder in 1935 of the 300,000-member Natl. Council of Negro Women, Dr. Bethune became an assistant to Women's Army Corps director Hobby. During the war Dr. Bethune fought successfully to admit Negro women to the WAVES and SPARS, and led a special committee which prevented discrimination in New York and Chicago hospitals.

WHAT THE NEGROES WANT: Mrs. Bethune was a dramatic speaker on platforms across the nation for an anti-lynch bill and a broadened Social Security program, and against the poll tax. Winner of the Springarn Medal and numerous other awards, she was a leader in the Urban League and NAACP and president of the Assn. for the Study of Negro Life and History. Along with Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, she was associate consultant at the founding of the UN in San Francisco. Once asked what the Negro in the U.S. wanted, Dr. Bethune replied:

"Protection that is guaranteed by the Constitution . . . and which he has a right to expect; opportunity for development equal to the right of any other American; to be understood; and finally to make an appreciable contribution to the growth of a better America and a better world."

SACB MEMBER RULES

Lincoln Brigade must register

DR. KATHRYN McHALE, member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, ruled on May 21 that the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade is a "Communist-front" organization and must register as such with the Attorney General. The full board of five members must now pass on her ruling, but it is virtually certain that it will be upheld.

Under the terms of registration, the organization would have to label itself as subversive, its officers would have to make a yearly financial accounting to the government, and its members would be barred from employment by the government or in defense plants and would automatically be denied passports.

Dr. McHale ruled that the organization, whose members fought on the Loyalist side as volunteers in the Civil War in the Thirties, is under Communist domination and control.

Two other organizations, the Labor Youth League and the International Workers Order, have been ruled to be "Communist fronts" by the SACB. The order against the IWO, however, was reversed by the courts. The LYL order is being appealed and the ruling against the VALB will also be appealed.

Atomic ABC

Whether we like it or not, we have to realize that although the Russians started somewhat later than the West, and although they very probably still have fewer weapons than we do, they are now equal to us in their knowledge of the techniques of "atomic" war and peace. The "secret" of the latest hydrogen bomb, the "cheap" one, was certainly not stolen from the U.S.—it was actually developed earlier by the Russians.

—Sir Francis Simon, FRS, thermodynamics prof. at Oxford Univ., in Christian Science Monitor, January 26, 1955.

HE CITES THE NELSON CASE

Mr. Smith (Act) seeks OK for state sedition acts

SEN. HOWARD SMITH (D-Va.) wants his Smith Act (which he wrote 15 years ago) and his state sedition prosecutions too. On April 28, a House Judiciary subcommittee began hearings on a new bill written by Smith which would validate state sedition laws such as the 1920 Kentucky statute under which Carl Braden was convicted.

The bill would let Congress underwrite the "states' rights" principle and, if constitutional, could with one gesture open a flood-gate of state anti-labor acts and other laws not now permitted. It does not mention sedition laws by name, but says that no act of Congress shall exclude all state laws in the same field unless there is a "direct and positive conflict so the two cannot be reconciled or stand together." Smith referred to a decision by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court as the "iniquitous result" his bill would correct.

THE NELSON CASE: Last year that court ruled that Communist leader Steve Nelson could not be convicted under the State Sedition Act because, in the interests of free speech and press, prosecution of sedition was the province of the national government (GUARDIAN 12/20/54). The U.S. Supreme Court will give its opinion on state-vs.-national sedition laws next fall. An appeal by the state in the Nelson case was made last year. The decision will affect generally 47 states with laws in this field, and directly cases now in progress in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Michigan and Florida. Further Kentucky action on six others indicted in the Braden case has been held up specifically for the Supreme Court's ruling. Last year Smith introduced a similar bill which was dropped after strong AFL protest. The Pa. Supreme Court decision was for him the "last straw," reported the Pittsburgh **Post Gazette** (4/29).

PLEA TO CONSIDER: The Pennsylvania Civil Rights Congress has urged Democratic Gov. Leader to dissociate himself from the appeal because

". . . support of 'sedition' laws, whether tacit or implied, would be entirely out of keeping with your pre-election promises, and with the general character of legislative action . . . since you took office."

STEVE NELSON
His case will be the test

Citing Braden's "sedition" prosecution which followed his opposition to segregated housing, it said state sedition laws could in practice negate the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and endanger labor's right to organize and bargain collectively.

After his election Leader told the AFL's Labor League for Political Action that he would review all anti-labor laws passed in the state during the previous administration. But he has appointed former GOP Atty. Gen. Truscott (who initiated the appeal to the Supreme Court) to argue the appeal.

Fight for Belfrage
Hear Anna Louise Strong
Guardian Rally, June 1
True Sisters Clubhouse
150 W. 85th St., N.Y.C.

"War is nonsense" — Niemoeller

"WE CAN NO longer debate the question whether war is good or bad, whether there is such a thing as a just war or an unjust war. . . . Madness cannot be characterized by 'good' or 'bad' or 'just' or 'unjust.' There is no 'just' madness' and no 'unjust madness,' no 'good madness' and no 'bad madness.' Madness is simply madness. . . .

"How far may we go with those who are working for peace from political views we do not have? I have attended a couple of meetings of the World Peace Council, whose reputation is not too good. A few days before one of these, at a Berlin conference on East-West relations, I said: 'I am a Christian, not a Communist. I know that the World Peace Council is supported by Russian money, but I would rather the Russians spend their money on fostering the World Peace Council than on building tanks and bombers.'

"The papers did not print this remark. It is too dangerous, you see. But it really is my conviction that a co-working of all forces for peace is needed in these times. I even think that by the grace of God and to the confounding of men—this is a theological phrase in Germany, therefore I use it—this Council has done a lot of good in the past few years.

"I doubt if there would have been an armistice in Korea without the World Peace Council. It created in a good many countries an atmosphere that made it impossible for politicians simply to leave the conference table and end negotiations. . . ."

—Pastor Martin Niemoeller at Fellowship of Reconciliation conference.

THE GOVERNOR DOESN'T LIKE IT

Miami's own Roy Cohn is pushing bill for state witch-hunt; faces a fight

ELLIS RUBIN is a baby-faced "bright young man" who is now Assistant Attorney General of Florida. In March, in what seemed an attempt to outshine Roy Cohn, he announced with great fanfare that he knew of 600 communists in the state, three times as many as the FBI claims. Then, at the request of the DAR, American Legion and Junior Chamber of Commerce, he visited high school classes during school hours and spoke before parent-teacher associations on his plan to "plough up the Communist underground."

Rubin is now planning for HB613, a bill he and the Legion are trying to push through the April-May session of the Florida Legislature. Patterned after a law now in effect in New Hampshire, it provides $110,000 for expenses and empowers the State Attorney General to investigate "Communism and subversive activity." Rubin says the present state law making it a felony to be a Communist (which may itself be voided by a Supreme Court decision, see p. 6) is "unenforceable" because the enforcers have no way to gain information.

THE OPPOSITION: The proposed legislation has run into a "hornet's nest of opposition" (**Miami Herald,** 5/13). Opposing are Gov. LeRoy Collins, Speaker Ted David, Appropriations Chairman, Rep. Jos. Moody. At legislative committee hearings May 12, Dade County Rep. Cliff Herrell said it would give authority "to run a witch-hunt in Florida." Other legislators heckled American Legion commander Joe Jenkins while he urged them to pass it. Playing the safe side, state lawmakers say they want to get rid of Communism without a witch-hunt. **Herald** reporter James Powell said without Legion support the bill "wouldn't have a chance." Even Atty. Gen. Richard Ervin, said Powell, doubted Rubin's judgment.

Among other opponents are Miami radio commentator Sam Gyson, who also spoke against last year's Dade County grand jury investigations. Gyson invited Rubin to debate the proposed law on his program, but Rubin didn't accept. A few individuals continue under subpena from Dade County investigations planned for earlier this year. But probes have been continually postponed while officials wait to see what the Legislature will do.

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BUT THERE WERE VICTIMS IN THE WAKE

UE defies Un-American probers in Newark union-busting junket

THE PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF THE HOTEL IN NEWARK
2,000 joined the demand for the right to belong to UE

By Elmer Bendiner

IN ONE OF THE largest, most publicized, most damaging inquisitions by a Congressional committee since the eclipse of Sen. McCarthy, the House Committee on Un-American Activities held a four-day hearing in Newark, N. J. Their trip cost the jobs of three Newark teachers, jeopardized the jobs of a number of United Electrical Workers Union members, smeared scores of people and brought the threat of denaturalization - deportation to at least two persons.

On the other hand, the Jersey invasion was met by the greatest show of popular resistance to the committee in recent months. Newspaper ads, a rally and leaflets warned Newark of the committee purposes. The **Star-Ledger** tried to head off the resistance, pointing out that this time the committee was different: it would be run by Democrats. An editorial calling attention to the opposition, said:

"The dismay of these self-styled 'liberals' is quite understandable. For the congressional committee in question is not a Senate committee headed by Sen. McCarthy and cannot, therefore, be lightly dismissed with a single smear characterization. This is a House committee headed by a Democrat and it will take a goodly number of smear words to do this committee in."

THE PRESS AT WORK: The pickets seemed unimpressed with a switch in party labels. Outside the Robert Treat Hotel, where committee members stayed, 2,000 UE members marched. They came from 12 locals in N. J. and N.Y. and carried placards saying: "Investigate Runaway Shops, Not Unions" and "The Walter-McCarran Act Must Go" (Walter, D-Pa., is committee chairman).

Newark's daily papers called the unionists "a red picket army." Police announced that the city "subversives squad" was watching. Hudson County Sheriff Wm. Flanagan, when told that busloads of strikers had passed through his bailiwick, said: "If I knew they were Reds I'd have locked all thousand of them up."

From the hotel steps committee members Scherer (R-Ohio) and Doyle (D-Calif.) watched the picket line. Scherer told newsmen he had reported the picket line to the FBI and called it "the worst demonstration against the committee I have ever seen." Noting a number of Puerto

(Continued on Page 10)

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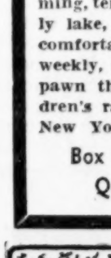

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Newark probe

(Continued from Page 9)

Ricans in the line he added: "Most of them don't even understand the signs they are being made to carry by their union leaders."

NO TIME FOR FAIR PLAY: Before the hearings opened the committee received letters from the N. J. Bar Assn., N. J. Council of Churches and the Jewish Community Council, recalling past violations by congressional committees of the rights of witnesses, urging fair play procedures, the right of those smeared to cross-examine their accusers. Rep. Doyle read the letters into the record, ruled that lack of time prevented cross-examination.

On Wednesday the committee was denounced at a packed rally on "The Right To Be Let Alone" in Essex House, called by the N. J. Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, which had taken three-column ads in the Newark dailies.

Some 650 persons heard chairman Broadus Mitchell, economic professor at Rutgers, call on them to "assert the civil rights of our state." Prof. H. H. Wilson of Princeton warned: "We are witnessing a movement toward a society with totalitarian characteristics." Frank Wilkinson, secy. of the Los Angeles Committee to Preserve American Freedom, said: "Too many of us have neglected the Bill of Rights."

Civil liberties atty. Leonard Boudin and ECLC director Clark Foreman also spoke. Charles Allen, former president of the Newark Teachers Union said: "Teachers will become informers—or-else, unless everyone fights. A few teachers may lose their jobs and the children will ask questions."

Drawing by Fred Wright

"We are to presume all witnesses innocent; unless, of course, we presume them to be guilty. . . ."

INFORMER AT WORK: While Allen was speaking the committee was in closed-door session with professional informer Bella Dodd. On the following day three teachers named by Bella Dodd appeared before the committee, declined under the Fifth Amendment to discuss past political associations and were suspended from their jobs by evening.

The three are Dr. Robert Lowenstein, acting head of the foreign language dept. at Barringer H. S.; Perry Zimmerman, instructor at the Dayton St. School; Estelle Laba, biology instructor at Central H. S. Rep. Scherer threatened Zimmerman with a contempt of Congress citation.

The committee threatened to denaturalize and deport Newark optician David Rocklin after he pleaded the Fifth in response to questions concerning the Civil Rights Congress. Though the committee similarly probed lawyers, printers, CRC officials, doctors, the prime target was UE.

On the hearing's first day Rep. Doyle looked over the audience and said: "I see by your faces that you are UE people." Doyle, who in other hearings has appealed for informers like a revivalist calling repentant sinners, asked UE members to leave their union.

UNION-BUSTING: The committee produced four informers against UE who told similar tales of alleged rule of UE by the Communist Party. Julius Kolovetz and Anthony De Aquino said they had joined the CP as underground spies of the "right wing" of the union. Kolovetz referred to $425,000 of "vanished money" collected by UE Local 447. The figure turned out to be the total amount of dues turned in over a seven-year period in which the local had to pay salaries, per capita dues to the national office and strike expenses.

More than a dozen UE officials were called to the stand and all defied the committee; most branded the hearings as a union-busting move. Among these was the Scottish-born president of UE Dist. 4, James McLeish, who said he feared a "frame-up." Rep. Scherer promptly threatened to institute denaturalization proceedings against him.

STANLEY ISAACS EXPOSES

Budget baloney

By Arthur Schutzer

UNDER THE CITY CHARTER, the City Council has power to reduce, but not to increase, items in the city's expense budget. This power is rarely exercised. Councilman Stanley M. Isaacs (R-Lib., Man.) panicked the May 17 meeting of the Council when he called for deletion of some glaring budgetary lulus.

The Council's Committee on Finance had come in with a smooth report which said that the city's expense budget for the fiscal year 1955-56 "provides for the continuance and extension of vital and needed services, **contains such economies as are possible,** and presents a program consistent with the needs of the city." (Emphasis added.)

STANLEY ISAACS
Embarrassing facts

On page 273 of the Budget, under "Miscellaneous," item No. 9807-019 is a $600,000 kitty to raise the salaries of top city brass (commissioners, deputy commissioners, etc.) It includes an additional $2,000-a-year allowance for every member of the Council. This is in addition to a $7,500 salary plus a previously approved allowance of $1,000. Apparently, only the salaries of teachers and rank-and-file city workers are considered to be "such economies as are possible."

Isaacs sought to delete this "miscellaneous" $600,000 item—but was overwhelmingly defeated.

While no money could be found to insure decent salaries and full services in education, health, social welfare and other fields, funds are available for political patronage. Thus, the city's Dept. of Commerce and Public Events gets three deputy commissioners and an assistant director. Here's the schedule: 1st deputy, $20,000; 2d deputy, $12,000; 3d deputy, $10,000; asst. director, $10,000. There is a further item of "Consultant Services" for which $20,000 is allocated. Isaacs attacked this set-up—but again was turned down.

Other significant aspects of the budget:

● The N. Y. C. 3% sales tax is now permanent. At the official request of the Wagner administration and by Democratic and Republican votes in the state legislature, N. Y. C. was given "permission" to make this levy permanent, instead of having to renew it every year. New Yorkers will pay an estimated $220 million in sales taxes during fiscal 1955-56.

● The auto use tax is expected to yield $8,800,000 in 1955-56. Originally a "temporary tax," this levy appears now to be permanent—despite specific public pledges for its repeal made by Mayor Wagner and both Democratic and Republican officeseekers in 1953.

● **On May 20, Dr. Luther Gulick, N. Y. C. Administrator, urged 250 mayors to consider "new forms of income tax to help solve their financial problems." This may be a straw in the wind forecasting a N. Y. C. payroll tax.**

THE GUARDIAN ANGEL — *Ban the Bang*

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speaks on

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Ausp: Religious Freedom Comm., 118 E. 28th St. MU 5-1361

BOOKS

That national pastime

MY qualifications to review a book about baseball date back to my membership in the Boston Braves Knothole Gang about the year 1926. I could tell you then the batting average of every regular on the Braves and Red Sox, and Dazzy Vance of the Brooklyn Dodgers, warming up in the bullpen, once said hello to me after I had badgered him for 15 minutes from the left field pavilion.

I must admit, however, to a large vacuum over the last 15 years and more about the intimate details of professional baseball, and my present-day knowledge is mostly confined to an occasional glance at the jargon-cluttered sports pages. It was with some misgivings about myself, therefore, that I began Eliot Asinof's **Man on Spikes**. But I read it through at one sitting and I was fascinated by it. It opened up a world I never dreamed of in my palmiest Knothole Gang days — a world, I venture, which is unknown to almost every baseball fan in the country.

ELIOT ASINOF

ONE GOAL: **Man on Spikes** is far more than a book about baseball. It is the story of a man with a compulsion to reach the top, an ambition so consuming that he would let nothing else touch him—and especially not love. But despite that he is a most appealing person and the reader suffers with him every setback on the road to the majors (a world he strikes out in) and rejoices at every bit of meager progress.

The whole "backstage" life of a minor-league ballplayer is set out in realistic detail and it bears not the slightest resemblance to the synthetic newspaper version.

THE CAST: Here are the good, steady ballplayer who is never flashy enough to go up fast, the clown, the obscene manager currying favor with the major league boss, the Negro in the first agonizing days of breaking into organized baseball. Here also are the long-suffering wife who has never known a home, the immigrant father to whom a baseball glove is an invention of the devil, and above all the whole seamy slave-system of syndicated baseball in America.

You don't have to be a fan to enjoy this book. Asinof is a good writer and he wrote this book as a piece of life for everybody. I think everybody will like it—except the moguls.

—**James Aronson**

MAN ON SPIKES by Eliot Asinof. McGraw-Hill & Co., New York. 276 pp. $3.75.

NATIONAL GUARDIAN

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On Friday, May 13, Belfrage was seized by Immigration Dept. agents and is now being held without bail for deportation, for battling Sen. McCarthy.

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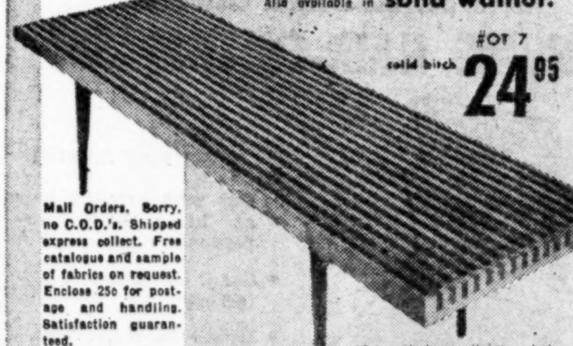

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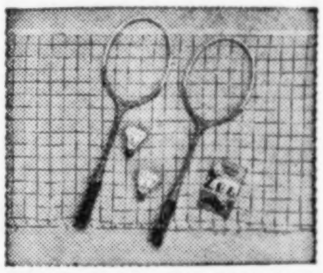

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Hiroshima re-enacted

THE INDICTMENT IS PLAINLY WRITTEN on the screen of New York's Baronet Theater (3d Av. & 59th St.) where the film **Hiroshima** is currently playing. The corpus delicti is produced. The evidence is so damning that the charge cannot be evaded or softened by extenuating circumstances. It cannot be sweetened with other names and called war or self-defense. The crime of August 6, 1945, is re-enacted.

Some of us have seen war, seen cities go up in smoke as our planes wheeled away from the target and, where our targets were a source of strength for fascism, we may not now regret it; that was war. But what happened in Hiroshima on Aug. 6, 1945, was not war. It was a crime which haunts our country. Yet the ghost that rises at the Baronet is not the chain-clanking horror it might be. Never have the dead and the maimed called in voices so buoyant, confident and wonderfully charitable—not for revenge but for peace.

The Teachers Union of Japan, which raised the money for the film, meant it that way.

THE RISING CLOUD: On the night of Aug. 5, most of Hiroshima's people huddled in their shelters while the sirens moaned. In the morning the all-clear sounded, kids went off to school or war work. A child recognized a hum from the sky as the sound of a B-29. He looked up and his world fell in.

On the screen rises the boiling white and black cloud. It now has a deadly familiarity. (In Nevada they make a hair-do patterned after it.) The cloud is for the pilot to note as he turns away from the target. The inferno that cloud conceals is for those who seek to live after the pilot has returned to his base. The screen goes dark; burning timbers glow in the dusk. There are the shrieks of the dying, the screams of mothers for their children, but the marvelous thing is that so soon after the catastrophe, life begins to pull itself together.

In the river lit by flaming wreckage, girls move about like ballet dancers to the music of the world's agony, clinging to each other and singing. The most poignant tragedy is not in the dead but in the living. An attendant on a breadline asks a woman why she does not hold out her lunch box instead of a cup. She answers that her lunch box holds the ashes of her daughter.

A BED OF RADISHES: The world's hope is symbolized in another scene: the crippled and the near-dead in a hospital have heard that nothing will grow in Hiroshima for seven years. To see if they have a future they plant a tiny patch with radish seeds and watch it tenderly. When the radish seeds sprout and the dying hobble out in passionate celebration, it is an epic victory of life over death.

The film traces one of the orphans of the blast, watches him serving drinks to Americans in a cabaret, teaching youngsters to say "hungry" to GIs. We watch a subtle, poignant romance with a girl forever lamed by the bomb. The boy takes a factory job, then suddenly leaves it to ghoulishly gather skulls from the ruins to sell as souvenirs to tourists. Arrested, he explains that he had to leave his job because the factory had begun to make cannon.

It is understandable—but a pity—that Americans should squirm so in the presence of this film that they cannot always grasp the message of the forgiving ghosts of Hiroshima.

THE POINTING FINGER: Where were we on the day the crime was committed? Nazi Germany had surrendered. The Russians who for years had tied down the Imperial Japanese army in Manchuria were driving that army to the sea. The British and U. S. fleets were free to close in on the sole surviving partner of the Axis. Victory was only months away. Hiroshima was not a military target, but men, women and children.

We can point to the grinning, Babbitt-like man who fell heir to the White House and took upon his shoulders the monumental guilt of ordering the crime. We can point to the pilot and point to scientists—so long as in the end we point to ourselves and ask why we became silent accomplices in the crime.

We may at last face the full horror of what we allowed to be done in our name, but that is not the film's purpose. When we join our victims in their fierce determination to have peace—we will have expiated our guilt. I think the Japanese wait for such signs from us as they waited for radishes to grow in Hiroshima.

—Elmer Bendiner